NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON ROCK DRAWINGS FROM WĀDĪ HIRJĀB, REPORTED BY G. F. WALFORD, ESQ.

(PLATES I–IV)

While engaged on Desert Locust Survey work, Mr. Walford came across the rock-drawings reproduced here, at a place he calls Thor es Sellim lying near the junction of the Wadi Kutne (Philby, Shi'b Kutne) and the Wadi Hurjab (Philby, Harjab) which is clearly al-Hamdānī's Hirjāb,[1] in the Bīshah district (long. 42°–43°; lat. 19°–20°). The Wādī Hirjāb is a tributary of the Wādī Bīshah. The drawings were discovered by Mr. Walford on the under side of an overhanging rock projecting into the *wādī*-bed, but his work unfortunately rendered it impossible for him to take more particulars than those given here. A second group of figures was found on another rock at a short distance from, and to the right of the first. As he states in a letter, 'there were many groups of lettering of the fairly common South Arabian type on other rocks in the area, and perhaps more drawings'.

Plates I and II are further and nearer views respectively of the drawings, plate III of the rock itself, and plate IV of the other rock, the standing figures giving some notion of the scale. From the photographs it may be deduced that the figures have been formed by incising an outline in the rock, and the introduction of a slight relief or moulding by smoothing off the edges of the incised lines. Mr. Walford records that the drawings are of a reddish colour; many other drawings in the southern half of Arabia are red also. The light-coloured patches are merely areas where the surface of the rock has flaked away.

One may fairly assert that the larger figures to the front represent males, though no male organ is shown, the hips being narrow and the shoulders broad, while the smaller figures behind are probably females, having wide hips and relatively narrow shoulders.

In Ḥaḍramawt I have seen more conventionalized and simplified figures in numbers of places. These I am inclined to consider representations of the palm tree which was worshipped in pre-Islamic Arabia, vestiges of the cult surviving in certain folk practices to this day. It might possibly be that the Hirjāb figures then are representations of palm gods and goddesses. On the other hand litholatry was and is so widespread in Arabia that it could be these drawings are somehow linked with the rock itself, though I cannot recall, in the classical Arabic sources, that a rock which was an object of worship ever had any carving on it.

R. B. SERJEANT

[1] D. H. Müller, *Al-Hamdânî's Geographie*, Leiden, 1884–91, I, p. 215; cf. H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabian highlands*, Ithaca, 1952, 118 seq., for the district, and end map. Thor es Sellim is perhaps correctly to be read Ṭawr al-Salīm, but this is uncertain. Al-Hamdānī also mentions Kutnah in several places but it does not seem to be the *wādī* shown by Philby as a tributary of the Hirjāb.

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[*Courtesy G. F. Walford*

ROCK-DRAWING AT WĀDĪ HIRJĀB

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Plate II

[*Courtesy G. F. Walford*

Rock-drawing at Wādī Hirjāb, detail

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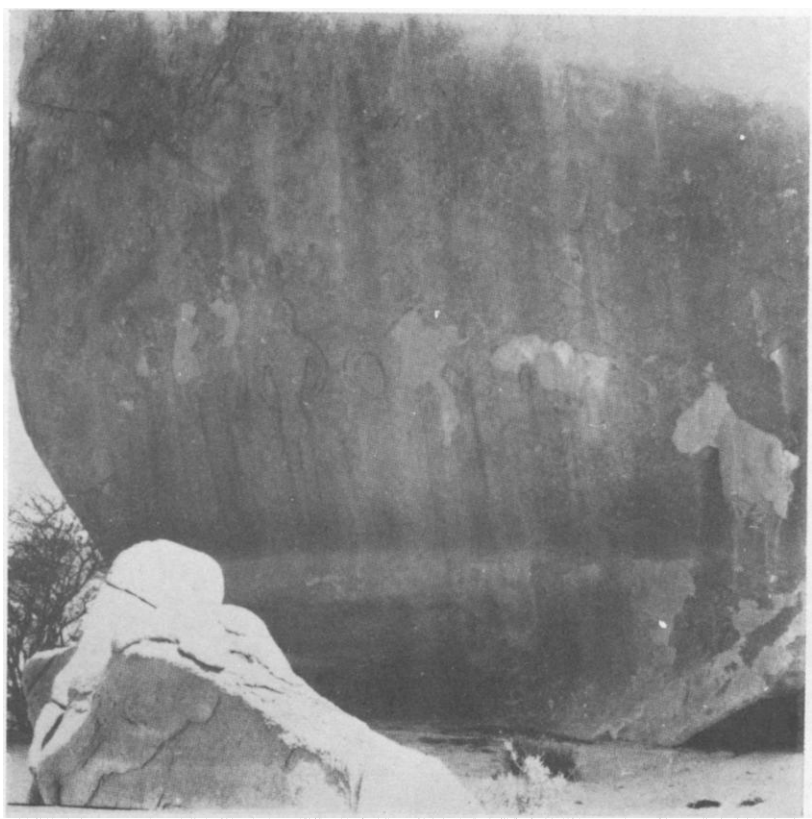

[Courtesy G. F. Walford

GENERAL VIEW OF ROCK SURFACE

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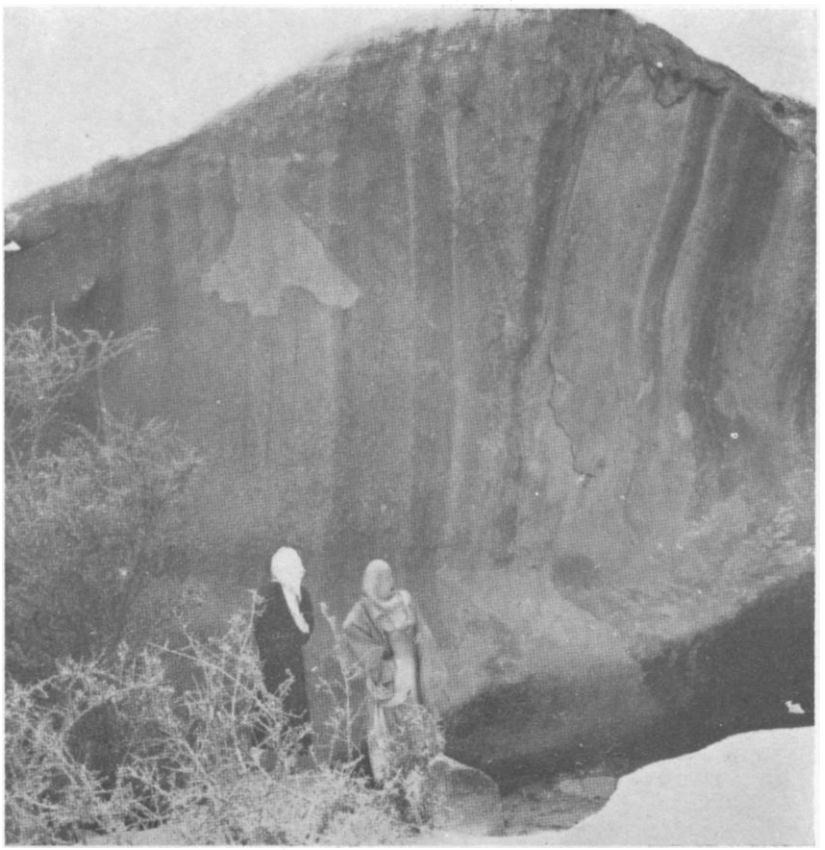
Plate IV



[*Courtesy G. F. Walford*

Second group of rock-drawings, Wādī Hirjāb

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'A BOOTH LIKE THE BOOTH OF MOSES . . .' A STUDY OF AN EARLY *ḤADĪTH* [1]

I

The chapter about innovations in mosques in al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Kitāb al-ḥawādith wa-'l-bida'* [2] contains a remarkable tradition about the building of the mosque of the Prophet in Medina which deserves special attention. This tradition, not included in the orthodox collections of *ḥadīth*, is of considerable importance: it seems to belong to a large body of early traditions omitted by later collectors of *ḥadīth*, and it may throw some light on an attitude of the Prophet which was later ignored by Muslim scholars. This tradition may help us to understand the views and opinions of the early Muslim scholars.

The *ḥadīth* referred to is told anonymously and runs as follows: 'Abu'l-Dardā' and Ubayy b. Ka'b measured the mosque; they came afterwards to the Prophet with the rod of the cubit. The Prophet then said: "Nay, a booth like the booth of Moses: *thumām* and wood, because the affair (will happen) sooner than that (*bal 'arīshᵘⁿ ka-'arīshⁱ Mūsā thumāmᵘⁿ wa-khashabᵘⁿ fa-'l-amrᵘ a'jalᵘ min dhālika* [3])"'. The *ḥadīth* is obscure and abstruse and the editor, Muḥammad al-Ṭālibī, remarks that he could not find this story in the collections of traditions about the building of the mosque in Medina, or about the building of the three mosques, nor in the *Nihāya* of Ibn al-Athīr; he could not find anything which may elucidate the text in the collections of the biographies of the Companions of the Prophet, nor in the stories about the life of Moses.[4]

This tradition is, however, given in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr* [5] in two versions: (*a*) a version which contains only a part of the tradition, and (*b*) a version in which the tradition is reported in full; both versions contain some slight deviations from the text of al-Ṭurṭūshī. The two versions of al-Suyūṭī were copied by al-Nabhānī in his book *al-Fatḥ al-kabīr*.[6]

The second part of the tradition is found in quite a different context, without being connected with the building of the mosque in Medina or with that of any mosque at all. It is reported by al-Tirmidhī [7] in the *Bāb qiṣar al-amal* and by

[1] Professor R. B. Serjeant kindly agreed to read this article in typescript and has added a few valuable notes, the contents of which are given below. The author wishes to express sincere thanks for the interest Professor Serjeant has shown and for his comments.

[2] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Kitāb al-ḥawādith wa-'l-bida'*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭālibī, Tunis, 1959, pp. 93–9.

[3] Professor Serjeant remarks that he has often seen roofs built in such a way in South Arabia. He writes (in a letter): '*Khashab* would be beams, perhaps palm-trunks. These would be covered with smaller branches, and then with *thumām*. On top of this would be added some wet *ṭīn* and *tibn*, clay mixed with chopped straw, and this would form the roof. *Khushaybāt* is better than *khashab* because it would mean presumably little branches'.

[4] P. 94, n. 6.

[5] II, 58, *'arsh ka-'arsh Mūsā*; 59, *'arīsh ka-'arīsh Mūsā thumām wa-khushaybāt wa-'l-amr a'jal min dhālika*.

[6] II, 226, 228.

[7] IX, 204, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1353.

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Ibn Māja in the *Bāb al-binā' wa-'l-kharāb*[1]; Abū Dā'ūd quotes the tradition in the *Kitāb al-adab*, in *Bāb mā jā'a fi'l-binā'*.[2] The tradition, told on the authority of al-A'mash, runs, in the report of al-Tirmidhī, as follows: ' 'Abdullah b. 'Amr said: The Messenger of God passed by us when we were busy (repairing) a hut of ours and asked us: "What is this?" We answered: "It threatened to fall, therefore we repair it". The Prophet said: "I think the affair will outstrip that" '. In the collections of Ibn Māja and of Abū Dā'ūd the tradition is also reported on the authority of al-A'mash, but there are some differences in the formulation of the statement of the Prophet: *Mā arā al-amr illā a'jal min dhālika*, and *al-amr asra' min dhālika*. This saying of the Prophet is thus the same as that reported in the second part of our tradition. There is, however, a difference of meaning between the saying as quoted by al-Ṭurṭūshī and the same saying as reported by Ibn Māja, Abū Dā'ūd, and al-Tirmidhī. The key-word for the understanding of the two traditions is the word *amr* 'affair'. This word must be interpreted in the tradition of al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja, and Abū Dā'ūd as meaning 'death'.[3] This is actually the interpretation given by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī in his commentary on Ibn Māja. In the same way we can also explain the saying of al-Ḥasan who, when asked why he did not wash his shirt, said: *al-amr asra' min dhālika*.[4] The meaning of the tradition would be: there is no need to repair (or to plaster a wall with clay, as in one of the versions of Abū Dā'ūd) even huts; death will outstrip your efforts. This saying is in harmony with other statements of the Prophet and his utterances in the *Bāb qiṣar al-amal* (e.g. ' . . . Be in this world like a wayfarer . . . Ibn 'Umar said: getting up do not hope for the evening . . .') and in the *Bāb al-binā' wa-'l-kharāb* (' . . . Every expense of the believer will be rewarded except the expense of building . . .').[5]

The meaning 'death' can, however, hardly apply to the word *amr* in the tradition of al-Ṭurṭūshī. The Prophet can hardly be assumed to have told Abu'l-Dardā' and Ubayy not to build mosques because death (i.e. his or theirs) would outstrip the completion of the building; the Prophet's death or that of the builders can hardly be a reason for an injunction to build the mosque in a provisional way, like the booth of Moses, for the mosque could well serve the believers even after their death. The meaning of al-Ṭurṭūshī's tradition seems thus to be quite different: *amr* denotes here an affair which will put an end to life in general; it will put an end to worship as well. It means in this

[1] II, 540, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1349.

[2] II, 347, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1348.

[3] ' In a modern text from al-Shiḥr: *idhā jarā amr Allāh 'alā [fulān]* "if so and so dies". I am translating this phrase as "God's command". The context is that if a fisherman dies, i.e. God's command comes to him, yet his family will continue to receive his share in the fishing crew's earnings till the end of the fishing season' (R. B. Serjeant).

[4] Ibn al-'Arabī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār*, I, 193.

[5] This tradition was emended; the clause added states, 'except the expenses of building mosques'. These expenses will, of course, be rewarded. See *al-Iktisāb*, 79. Cf. *Musnad al-Ṭayālisī*, p. 341: ' Ibn 'Abbās: the Prophet said: He who builds a mosque for Allah even like a hollow (dug by) a sand grouse (for laying eggs), Allah will build for him a house in Paradise'.

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context destruction, disaster, calamity in which everything will perish. In this tradition of al-Ṭurṭūshī *amr* is identical in meaning with *al-sā'a*, the time of total calamity which will be followed by the resurrection. The Prophet said to Abu'l-Dardā': 'The *amr*, the Day of Judgment, may be sooner than that', for he believed that the *sā'a* was at hand; there was no need, therefore, to erect sumptuous buildings, not even for mosques. A remarkable tradition quoted by al-Bayhaqī on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās may be mentioned to strengthen this point. 'The Prophet said: I have not been ordered to build the mosque sumptuously (*mā umirtu bi-tashyīd al-masjid*)'.[1] This meaning of *amr* as identical with *al-sā'a* can already be detected in the Qur'ān, XVI, 1; this is also the explanation given there by the commentators.[2]

The fact that the Prophet was overpowered by the feeling of the approaching Day of Judgment, which was duly stressed by Buhl[3] and T. Andrae,[4] may be illustrated by a tradition comprehensively explained by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī.[5] 'The Prophet said: I was sent at the breath of the Day of Judgment; the Day almost outstripped me' (*bu'ithtu fī nasam al-sā'a, in kādat la-tasbiqunī* [the *in* here is *mukhaffafa min al-thaqīla*]). Another version of this tradition is also mentioned by the author; it has *nafas* instead of *nasam*. The first version is explained as denoting beginning, and should therefore be literally translated: 'I was sent at the first blowing of the wind of the *sā'a*'; the meaning is derived from the idea of a breath of wind at the beginning of the day. The second version, *nafas*, is said to be derived from the idea of delay, pause. Thus the tradition can be interpreted in two different ways: (*a*) the Prophet was sent at a time when the Day of Judgment was just about to begin; (*b*) the Prophet was sent at a time when the Day of Judgment was almost at hand; Allah postponed it for a while, and during this pause the Prophet was sent. A similar tradition is quoted by al-Tirmidhī[6] and by Ibn Ḥibbān.[7]

It is obvious why this tradition about the building of the mosque of the Prophet as quoted in the book of al-Ṭurṭūshī was omitted by Muslim scholars. The Day of Judgment did not come in the days of the Prophet and there was no reason to quote a tradition which stated clearly that the Prophet believed that the *sā'a* would happen in his own lifetime.

II

We can, fortunately, trace the first part of the tradition in other sources. It served as an argument for scholars who claimed that mosques should be built in an austere and modest style, like the mosque of the Prophet. Thus we have

[1] *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, II, 439.

[2] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Qurṭayn*, I, 242, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1355; cf. P. Casanova, *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, 15.

[3] *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 145, 157.

[4] *Mohammed*, 43.

[5] *al-Majāzāt al-nabawiyya*, p. 36; cf. Casanova, op. cit., 18 (1), 20, 57.

[6] *Bāb al-fitan*, IX, 60.

[7] I, 9.

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the following tradition, told on the authority of Sālim b. ʿAṭiyya: 'The Prophet said: A booth like the booth of Moses'. The explanation given says: 'He did not like arches[1] about the mosques' (*yaʿnī annahu kāna yakrahu al-ṭāq fī ḥawālī al-masājid*).[2] A slightly different interpretation is given to this tradition in *Kitāb al-waraʿ* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[3] The circumstances in which this saying was uttered according to Ibn Ḥanbal are also different. People asked the Prophet to adorn the walls of the mosque (*an yukaḥḥil*[a] *al-masjid*), and the Prophet said: 'No, a booth like the booth of Moses'. The compiler, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, explains: 'It is a varnish like antimony (*kuḥl*); the Prophet did not allow it'.

Quite a different version of this tradition is given in an early treatise compiled by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (died A.H. 189), summarized by his pupil Muḥammad b. Samāʿa (died A.H. 233), in his book *al-Iktisāb fī al-rizq al-mustaṭāb*: 'People offered the Prophet to pull down his mosque and to build it anew. The Prophet answered: No, a booth like the booth of Moses'.[4]

The tradition is also quoted in the book of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*.[5] It is quoted there on the authority of al-Ḥasan: 'When the Prophet intended to build his mosque he said: Build for me a booth like the booth of Moses'.

In the sources quoted above the expression about the dry branches and *thumām* is missing; the second part of the tradition, about the *amr* which will outstrip the effort of the builders, has been cut off.

III

The whole tradition of al-Ṭurṭūshī is found in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saʿd (I, 2, p. 2; in the edition of Cairo, A.H. 1358, vol. II, p. 5). The Prophet, says the tradition of Ibn Saʿd, covered the mosque with palm branches. He was asked: Why not cover with a ceiling? The Prophet answered: 'A booth

[1] The word 'arch' is used here to translate Arabic *ṭāq*. According to Professor Serjeant (letter dated 20 August 1960), '*ṭāq* or *ṭāqa* is in South Arabian usage a window, an aperture (especially in a technical sense, to a tomb), a niche in a wall for holding a lamp or something of the kind. Such a niche in my experience is usually made in a clay wall and may be topped by a round arch or pointed arch (in clay), or it could simply have a wooden top on the post and lintel principle'. These features of building, mentioned by Professor Serjeant, did not exist in the mosque of the Prophet, and orthodox circles were opposed to them. It was ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who was the first to build the *miḥrāb* in the form of a niche when he rebuilt the mosque in Medina by order of al-Walīd (details about this innovation, Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, 44). The *ṭāq al-imām* in the traditions quoted by al-Ṭurṭūshī seems thus to be identical with the *miḥrāb* (cf., eg., p. 94, *fa-min dhālika al-maḥārīb . . . fa-taqaddama al-Ḥasan wa-ʿtazala al-ṭāq an yuṣalliya fīhi . . . wa-kariha al-ṣalāt fī ṭāq al-imām al-Nakhaʿī . . .*). The fundamental sense of *miḥrāb*, as elucidated by Professor Serjeant, was in fact columns and a space between them. *Miḥrāb* in the form of an arched niche was an innovation; it was introduced at the end of the seventh century and was fiercely opposed by the orthodox. *Ṭāq* as *miḥrāb* was considered as *bidʿa*.

[2] Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan*, II, 439.

[3] Ed. Cairo, A.H. 1340, p. 107; compiled by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī.

[4] P. 78

[5] Ed. Beirut, p. 238. Also *ʿUmdat al-akhbār*, p. 81. Cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Zād al-maʿād*, II, 146.

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like the booth of Moses, wood pieces and *thumām*; the affair (will happen) sooner than that'.[1]

The same tradition, told on the authority of Shahr b. Ḥaushab [2] and quoted in the *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*,[3] contains a few interesting additions: 'When the Prophet wanted to build the mosque he said: "Build for me a booth like the booth of Moses, *thumāmāt* and dry branches and a covering like the covering of Moses, and the affair (will happen) sooner than that". He was asked: "What is a covering of Moses?" and he answered: "When he stood up his head touched the ceiling"'. This very tradition is quoted by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-'Abbāsī in his *'Umdat al-akhbār fī madīnat al-mukhtār* [4]; the source given is the collection of Razīn.[5]

Another version of this tradition, in a slightly different form, is given by the *'Umdat al-akhbār* and the *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*: 'When the Prophet wanted to build the mosque he was told [the *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* comments: Gabriel told him]: "A booth like the booth of Moses, thy brother". Anas said: Thus the Prophet built it the first time from palm-branches; four years after the *hijra* he built the mosque from bricks'.[6]

A tradition quoted in both books mentions a different situation upon which the saying was uttered. Rain used to drip into the mosque. Since the covering contained little clay, the mosque was filled with muddy water. The believers then came to the Prophet and asked him to give an order that the ceiling be plastered with clay, in order to prevent the rain from dripping into the mosque. The Prophet answered: 'No, a booth like the booth of Moses'. The mosque was left in this state until the death of the Prophet.[7]

In conclusion we may assume that the tradition quoted by al-Ṭurṭūshī was already widely spread in the circles of Muslim scholars at the beginning of the third century of the *hijra*, or even at the end of the second century.

[1] Quoted from Ibn Sa'd in Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XVI, 345.

[2] See his biography, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IV, 369.

[3] Ed. Cairo, A.H. 1320, II, 71; *Sīrat Dahlān* (on margin of *Ḥalabiyya*), I, 357.

[4] Ed. As'ad Ṭarābzūnī, p. 80. According to a tradition mentioned in the *Sīrat al-Dimyāṭī*, quoted in the *Ḥalabiyya* (loc. cit.), the explanation of the booth of Moses is given by al-Ḥasan, who reported the tradition.

[5] Razīn b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār al-'Abdārī (d. 535/1140), cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 630.

[6] The saying of Anas is not mentioned in the *Ḥalabiyya*. *Libn*, here translated 'bricks', means, as Professor Serjeant points out, fundamentally clay bricks, but one may assume fairly safely that in a hastily constructed building they would be of unbaked clay, cf. Landberg, *Gloss. daṭ.*, III, Leiden, 1942, 2611 [reference supplied by Professor Serjeant, who also refers to the terms *ājur* and *libn* in *RSO*, XXVIII, 1953, 8, and *madra* and *lubna* in *Le Muséon*, LXII, 1–2, 1949, 160]. In the sources relating to our tradition there is, however, a controversy over the question of these bricks and their form. Some support for taking *libn* to mean unbaked clay bricks in this tradition may be adduced from the following tradition about the mosque built in Baṣra by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: *wa-banā Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī al-masjid wa-dār al-imāra bi-libn wa-ṭīn wa-saqqafahā bi-'l-'ushb* (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1319, p. 355)—he built it from clay bricks and clay and covered it with brushwood [using this word for *'ushb* at Professor Serjeant's suggestion].

[7] *'Umdat al-akhbār*, 81; *al-Ḥalabiyya*, loc. cit.

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That is evident from the quotation in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd. The mosque of the Prophet was in fact built in a very simple, even primitive, way,[1] and resembled a booth.[2] The saying of the Prophet about the Day of Judgment seems to reflect truly his feeling in the first period of his stay in Medina. The comparison with the booth of Moses in this period is not surprising: his relations with the Jews in Medina were not yet hostile. This tradition seems thus to belong to an early layer of *ḥadīth* of considerable importance.

M. J. KISTER

THE TURKISH VERSES OF QĀSIM AL-ANVĀR

(PLATE I)

In the preface to his edition of the *Kulliyāt i Qāsim i Anvār*[3] (printed at Tehran, 1337/1958–9, p. 112) Professor Sa'īd Nafīsī alludes to the difficulty he has encountered in establishing the text of four of the poems (pp. 406–8) which the Persian poet wrote, playfully as it seems, either completely or partly in Turkish. Although the editor had ten manuscripts at his disposal, he has to admit himself (in a footnote on p. 406) that the Turkish of the four poems in their present form is largely incomprehensible. He consoles his readers on this point with the promise of an improved edition of the *Kulliyāt*, proposed for some future date.

With the aid of the nine manuscripts available to me in this country, of which one is outstanding, the text can be considerably improved. These manuscripts are:

British Museum

(A) Or. 3304	Ff. 157v; 210v–211r. Dated 857/1453–4 (Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 183)
(B) Or. 11363	Ff. 155r; 210r. A manuscript of 268 ff., dated 861/1456–7, which was acquired in 1933. The copyist's name is 'Abdullāh al-Iṣfahānī
(C) Or. 2501	Ff. 138v; 180r. Dated 877/1472–3 (Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 184)
(D) Add. 18874	Ff. 149r; 204r–204v. Fifteenth century (Rieu, II, p. 636)

[1] See Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Yathrib*; *EI*, s.v. 'Masdjid' (Pedersen); Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, 2–11, 25.

[2] cf. Tha'lab's explanation of the verse of al-A'shā (*Dīwān*, ed. Geiger, XXIX, 4). It was a construction of trunks covered with dry branches, where people used to seek shelter from the heat. Cf. Abū Dharr's commentary, ed. Brönnle, p. 424, and cf. the verse of Mutawakkil al-Laythī, *Aghānī*, XI, 38.

[3] On the poet (757–837/1356–1433–4) see Browne, *LHP*, III, 473–86; F. Köprülü in his article *Anaṭolu'da İslāmiyet* (Dār ül-Fünūn Edebiyāt Fakültesi Mejmū'asi (Istanbul), Year 2, No. 6, 1339/1923, 467–8) gives a valuable summary of the sources on Qāsim al-Anvār. His promise of a monograph on the life and works of the poet has so far remained unfulfilled.

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(E) Add. 7091 — Ff. 159v–208r, containing only poem IV. Dated 962/1555–6 (Rieu, II, p. 635)

(F) Or. 1224 — F. 194v. Sixteenth century (Rieu, II, p. 637)

Cambridge University Library

(G) Browne Collection V 35 (7) — Ff. 161r; 209r–209v. Dated 861/1456–7 (*Catalogue*, p. 238)

(H) Browne Collection V 36 (7) — Ff. 139r–139v; 187r–188v. Sixteenth century? (*Catalogue*, p. 239)

Bodleian Library

(I) Sale 5 — Ff. 207v–208r. Dated 876/1471–2 (Sachau-Ethé, I, No. 862)

Of these nine manuscripts the early G seems to have suffered least from the hands of unskilled copyists, whereas the others present more or less one and the same considerably distorted text, though far better than that found in the Tehran edition.

The first two of the four poems are *rubā'īs*; they are written entirely in Turkish and each is based on a *jeu de mots* (impossible to reproduce in translation). I begin with them, following mainly but not exclusively G; the *apparatus criticus* shows the important variants only, and in addition, for comparison, those of the Tehran edition (T).

I

اول یار عزیز ایله[a] که جان یادینه[b] دور
مسجد ساری[c] باردم که بوکون ادینه[d] دور
میندین[e] جماعت سوردی که شیخ ادینه[f] دور
دیدیم نیجه سوراریز[g] که شیخ[h] ادینه دور

Variants

[a] T ابله. [b] ABE یادینه; GIT بادینه. [c] T دسارو. [d] T بوکن آینه. [e] T مسنددن. [f] T آینه. [g] G سورارینه; T نه سوره سیر. [h] T هیچ.

Remarks

(1) For *sarî*, a postposition with different connotations in the various Turkish languages, see Deny, *Grammaire*, p. 617.

(2) At the end of the first *miṣrā'* of the second line ادینه دور is to be understood as آدی نه دور.

(3) For نیجه *niğe* or *neğe* see Deny, p. 1141 (addenda to 1076).

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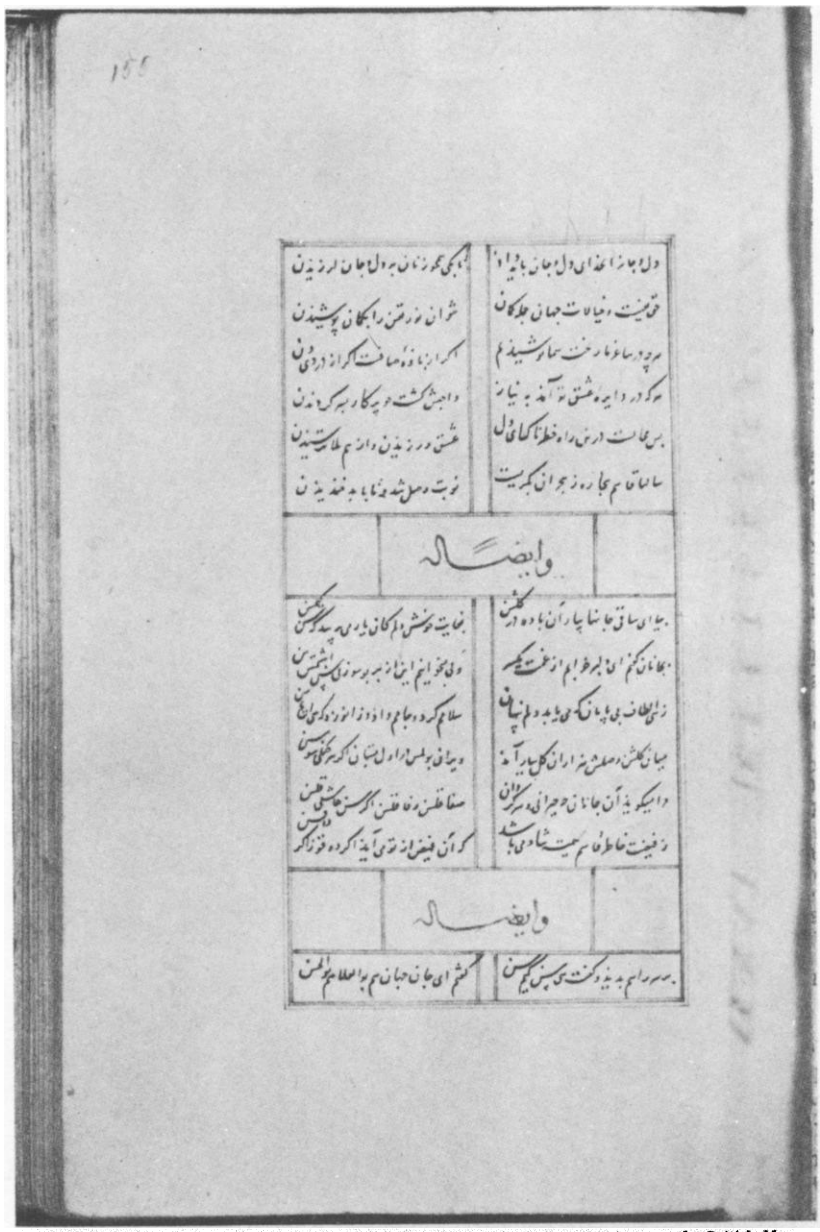

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BM OR. 11363, FOL. 155R: *DĪVĀN* OF QĀSIM AL-ANVĀR

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(4) ادینه at the end of the poem is ' Friday ' as a proper name which actually occurs ; see Storey, 665, and Zambaur (index).

(5) The poem must have been conceived in the afternoon of the same Friday on which the author had visited the mosque, probably with a circle of friends (including Shaikh Ādīne around whose name the poem is built) and in a jocose mood.

Translation

Together with that dear friend who is always present in [my] mind (*jān yādine dur*), I went towards the mosque—for to-day is Friday (*Ādīne dur*)! The congregation asked me ' What is the name of the Shaikh (*adî-ne-dur*)? ' I replied ' Why do you ask ? He is Shaikh Ādīne '.

II [1]

بیر باغچغه[a] یتّم[b] کـه بـار اردی[c] قزل[d] المـا
باغچه ایسّی[e] ایتی که بو المادین المـا
بیر کوکچک[f] اکید اوغلی[g] بار اردی[h] قره کوزلوک[i]
بیر تبشی کیتوردی قـاتیـما[j] ایتی مَه المـا

Variants

[a] T باغچه. [b] A ییتّیم ; G یتُّم. The others are not vocalized. [c] A بار ایدی ; C بار ایردی ; I باری ; T بررری. [d] I قرال ; T اقول. [e] T ابسی [f] AT کوچک. [g] I اوقلی ; T اقلی. [h] T بردی. [i] T گوزلو. [j] T قمه.

Remarks

(1) In line 1 یتّم *yit-düm* such as ایتی *ayit-di*.

(2) For کوکچک see *Tarama sözlüğü*, I, 316 ; II, 445, etc., s.v. *gökçek*.

Translation

I approached a garden where there were red apples. The owner of the garden said ' Do not take [any of] these apples '. A bold and beautiful lad was there, with dark eyes. He brought a tray to me, saying ' Here, have some apples ! '

III

This and the following poem are *mulamma'* in which Persian rather predominates over the few Turkish passages. Again G offers the best text :

(1) بـیا ای سـاقی جـانها بیـار آن بـاده درگلـشن
بغایت خوشدلم کـان یار می‌پرسد کـه: سن کم[a] سن

[1] This quatrain is missing in B.

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(2) بجانـــان گـــفتم ای دلـــبر خـــرابم از غمـــت یکـــسر
ولی می‌خـــوانم این از بر: بـو سوزنی سن اشتماس[b] سن

(3) زهی الـــطاف بی پایـــان کـــه می‌یـــابد[c] دلم پنهـــان
سلامم کرد وجـــامم داد وزانـــو زد که: هی[d] ایچ ســـن

(4) مرا می‌گویـــد آن جـانـــان چـــه حـیرانی وسرگـــردان
صفـــاقیـــل سن وفا قیل‌سن اکـــر سن عاشقی قیل‌ســـن

(5) مـــیان گلـــشن حسنـــت[e] هزاران گـــــل ببار آمد
ویران بولماس‌دور اول بستـــان اکر بیر چیچکی سوسن[f]

(6) بیـــا ای روشـــنی جان که هـــم جـــانی وهـــم جانان
یوزونک گلشن سوزونک روشن روشن بولدی که سلطان سن[g]

(7) زفیضت خاطر قـــاســـم همـــیشه شـــاد می‌باشـد
که این[h] فیض از تو می‌آید[i] اکـــر توقـــور اکر توقـــسن

Variants

[a] B سن کیمسن ; C سن کیم ; G سن کیم. [b] T ایشماس. [c] G می بایـد ; T می یابد. [d] AB می ایچ سن ; T سن ایچ سن. [e] B وصلش . [f] T سون سن. [g] In B the entire *bait* is missing. T یوزون گلشن سوزون روشن روش مولدی که سلطان سن. [h] B آن. [i] T می یابد.

Translation

(1) Come Sāqī of the Loved Ones, bring wine into the flower-garden. I am overjoyed since that Friend asks ' *Who art thou?* '

(2) To my Beloved I replied ' O lovely one, out of longing for thee I am completely distraught ' (but this I say within my heart—*thou dost not hear these words*).

(3) Oh limitless kindness which secretly touches my heart: the Friend greeted me, handed me the goblet, and knelt down by me saying ' *Ho, drink!* '

(4) To me that Beloved says ' What, art thou distracted and confused? *Be faithful and true if thou wouldst play the part of a Lover!* '

(5) In the flower-bed of thy beauty, by thousands roses have blossomed. *That garden will never become a wilderness if thou lovest one of its flowers!*

(6) Come, O Light of my Soul who art both dear and beloved, *thy face is a bed of roses, thy word is bright—it has become manifest that thou art Sultan!*

(7) At thy grace the heart of Qāsim is ever rejoicing—for this bounty comes from thee *whether it be great or small!* [1]

[1] Lit. ' whether there are nine or ninety (bounties) '. These are held to be lucky numbers.

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IV

This *mulamma'* ghazal, with its refrain *Chelebi bizi onutma* is mentioned in Browne, *LHP*, III, 479. As already indicated, it is the only poem of the four to be found in E.

(1) صباحیکٔ مبارک اولسون چلبی سلام قیلدوکٔ
سلام ایله جانی بیردوکٔ چلبی بزی انتمه

(2) چلبی تو شاه جانی چلبی تو دلستانی
چلبی حبیب جانی چلبی بزی انتمه

(3) چلبی تو شاه و میری چلبی تو دستگیری
چلبی تو دلپذیری چلبی بزی انتمه

(4) عاشق اولدوغم بیلورسنٔ جانیما جفا قیلورسنٔ
حال زارمیٔ سیورسن چلبی بزی انتمه

(5) چلبی شه جهانی چلبی تو جان جانی
چلبی نه این نه آنی چلبی بزی انتمه

(6) اوده یاقسن جانم سنٔ یره توکسن قانم سنٔ
چلبی دلم جانم سن چلبی بزی انتمه

(7) سر قاسمی فدایت دل و جان طفیل رایتٔ
بخدا بروی ماهت چلبی بزی انتمه

Variants

ᵃ F صباح ; T صباحین. ᵇ ABEFH قیلدوک ; G قیلدق ; T چلبی قلاک السن.
ᶜ B سلام ایله جان شیرین ; IT جان یردک. ᵈ T عاشق الرم بیورسن.
ᵉ T چلبی تو دستگیری. ᶠ T زاره. ᵍ T ازده یاقس جانم. ʰ T بره توکس قاسم سن.
ⁱ CEFG دو جهان طفیل راهت.

Translation

(1) *May thy morning be blessed, O Chelebi, thou hast greeted us.*
With the greeting thou hast given us new life, Forget us not, O Chelebi.
(2) Chelebi, thou art the King of my soul, Chelebi, thou hast seized my heart,
Chelebi, thou art my soul's Beloved, *Forget us not, O Chelebi.*
(3) Chelebi, thou art the Shah and Prince, Chelebi, thou art my helper,
Chelebi, thou art soothing to my heart, *Forget us not, O Chelebi.*

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(4) *Thou knowest that I have become possessed by Love, Thou dost torture my soul, Thou dost rejoice in my distraction, Forget us not, O Chelebi.*

(5) Chelebi, thou art the King of the World, Chelebi, thou art the Soul of Souls, Chelebi, thou art neither this nor that,[1] *Forget us not, O Chelebi.*

(6) *Even if thou dost burn my soul in the fire and even if thou dost shed my blood on the ground, [for all that] thou art my heart and soul, Forget us not, O Chelebi.*

(7) The head of Qāsimī [2] is thy ransom (heart and soul he is in thy power).[3] For the love of God, by thy moon-face [I entreat thee], *Forget us not, O Chelebi.*

Besides the four poems dealt with above, there are still others to be found in the *Kulliyāt* of Qāsim al-Anvār which contain Turkish elements though seldom more than a word or phrase at a time (Tehran edition, pp. 231, 235, 306, 307). Here our nine manuscripts offer only few and unimportant variants, except in the case of one poem (A, f. 172r ; B, 168v–169r ; C, 151r ; D, 163b ; T, pp. 283–4) which therefore has been added :

(1) آیینه تیره شد ز چه تیره است آیینـــــه
چون رو بروی دوست ندارد هر آیینه

(2) مرآت دل بمصقلهٔ ذکر صاف [a]کـــن
تا روی دوســـت را بنـــــماید معـــاینـــه

(3) جف القلم بمـــا هو کـــائن تمام شد
تفصـــیل یافت صورت اجمال کاینـــه

(4) دوشینه شب که اوّل مه[b] بود و عید بود
اول یار غار ایتی وباردم سراییـــنـــه[c]

(5) کردم سلام گرم وزدم بوسه بر رکاب
هیچ التفـات قیلمادی[d] اول شه گـدایـنه

(6) هرکس زکوه کون صدائی شنیده اند
آواز یـار غـــار شنیـــــدم صـــدایینـــه

(7) خوشدل شـــدم زمغلطـــهٔ آن مراد دل
جانم نجـــات یافـــت ز هـــجران بایـــنه

[1] i.e. ' you are beyond my powers of description '.

[2] An alternative form of the poet's *takhallus* which is used almost as commonly as Qāsim in the *Dīvān* (see the preface to the *Anīs al-'ārifīn*, Tehran ed., p. 360).

[3] Besides ' parasite ', *tufail* has the additional meaning of ' humble follower '.

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(8) می‌خواستم بکوی تو آیم بخاک بوس[e]
ره نیک[a] دوربود ومرا زورپای نه

(9) گفتم که قاسمی بوصال[f] تویافت[g] راه
در خنده رفت یار گرامی که: های نه

Variants

[a] T پاک. [b] T اوّل شب. [c] T آن غازی من آمد باریم سرایینه. [d] T قلمادی.
[e] T بپای بوس. [f] T بجمال تو. [g] D بار یافت.

Translation

(1) The mirror is dull. Why is it so? Because every mirror does not come face to face with the Beloved.
(2) Make bright the heart's mirror with the Burnisher of Remembrance so that it may show the face of the Beloved clearly.
(3) In the stroke of a pen the Universe was created.[1]
Once inchoate, it has now developed form and detail.
(4) Last night which was the first night [of the crescent] moon and was the eve of the Festival,[2] *that true Love asked me to come and I went to her dwelling.*
(5) I greeted her warmly and kissed her stirrup
but that Sovereign paid no heed to her Petitioner![3]
(6) All have heard a Voice from the Mountain of Existence[4]
but I have heard the voice of my Beloved—*only that voice*!
(7) I rejoiced [at my escape] from that snare into which my heart's ambition had led me. My soul was saved from absolute separation.[5]
(8) I longed to come to thy lane to kiss [the very] dust [of thy feet].
The road was exceeding far, and I had not the strength to walk.
(9) I said 'Qāsimī[6] has reached thee at last!'
That Dear Friend burst out laughing and said 'Alas for thee, not so!'

There is far too little material here to make any detailed observations on the language of the poems which shows signs of dialect admixture as found also in other texts of the period.[7] The language comes nearest to Azeri with, however, marked Chaghatai influence; the latter can safely be ascribed to the fact that Qāsim al-Anvār spent most of his life at Herat and Samarqand. The uncertainty about the specific dialect used in these poems will probably allow for no more than a tentative reconstruction.

G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS

[1] More literally 'in the drying of a reed-pen'—a reference to the Pen which was the first thing created by God. See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunna*, 16.
[2] This signified that Ramaḍān was over and that the 'Id al-Fiṭr was due to begin on the morrow.
[3] The defective form of the 3rd person suffix is evidently due to the influence of the *qāfiye*.
[4] Qur'ān II, 117. [5] Freedom from all worldly desires. [6] See above, p. 160, n. 2.
[7] See V. Minorsky, *BSOAS*, X, 4, 1942, 1006a–1053a, and XVI, 2, 1954, 271–97.

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